/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
● 776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba
Kharésa ("rain house of god").

● 776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "X'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. X'amab (1) has been preserved
in X'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words,
the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the
good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A
human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the
heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people
from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which,
it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing.
There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing
about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of
the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words,
originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (X'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no
point in hunting them."

The leopard (X'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little
princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide,
but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund
(//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are
hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N.
//arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

1. X indicates a very low gutteral click,
for which I know of no notation.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

[834] If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate	God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore	Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô	With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha gore o Khandi ô	Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro	Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re	Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 776 782 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around [534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881

boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏă Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] 585 881 The engagement usually takes place long before the girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's

DAMA

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call X'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Ģamab of the Bergdama.

773 X'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how X'amaba made human beings.

[372] [776] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil. Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

X'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 782 821 I took down the following prayers:

1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a	God, give water to drink.
X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa	God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a	so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

X'ámaba X'ámaba X'ámaba	God, God, God
tũta tũta	We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i	Rain water, rain water
tara ai /gam ái !hanusa tutasi	We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.
χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai~~-kh~~áira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil:
Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
● 776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

AKUANAMBUA

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 [614] These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 [+39] Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 262 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

AKUANAMBUA

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba. [772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine [774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu [171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 192 [101] Finally, a number of words indicate that these people are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[14 cont.]
000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

●776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
[15] souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other
spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not
believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against illnesses.
753 To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill,
he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] [778] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give
the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[*35* cont.]

312 *Dolichos* *seineri* Harms (*eona*), and the Convolvulacea *Ipomoea*
824 *seineri* Pilger (*eawa*); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea *Citrullus naudinianus* Hook. (*orura* of the Herero; *gab* of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

(113) 1. F. Galton, *Tropisches Südafrika*, p. 101.

312
825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222
776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

!KUNG

[49 cont.]

756 glowing all too brightly. On the other hand,
786 I was surprised when on the occasion of such
789 a religious dance the so-called great doctor --
796 after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 [50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures
776 thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with
● Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary
(775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 The doctors have their supernatural power directly from
776 the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 776 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 757 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 [411] During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

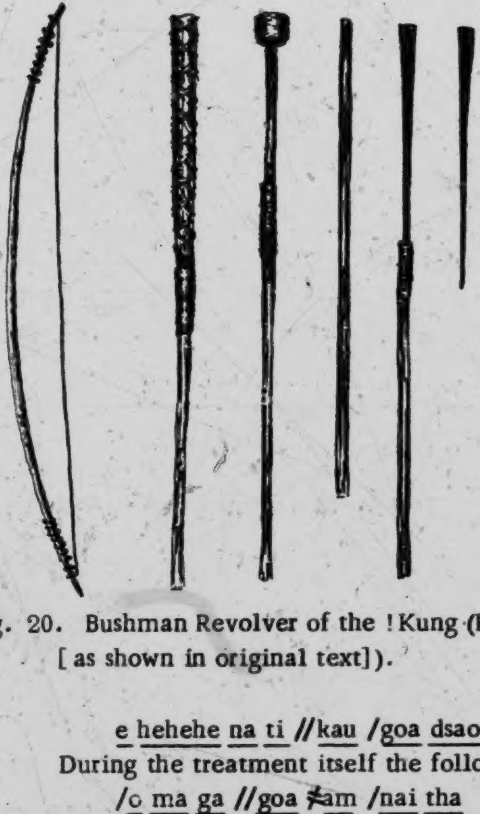

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha
He has no medicine yet, he must be
thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[52 cont.]

Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
773 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy.
821 So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up aga[illegible]." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ 'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ 'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !kháni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

(782) What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

!KUNG

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The
rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds
776 again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a
person says something bad about him, however, punishment is
not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and
kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning.
But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now
and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen
so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with
medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he
comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that
where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or
fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from
the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where
lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth."
The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat
of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person
in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that
person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from
this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of
a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person con-
cerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was
cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the
spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in
the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below.
When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and
cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[54 cont.]

756 789 787 796 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the children are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539]

/gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā̀ djuṣā̆ !kho ā́dshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā̆ hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goā́ dshn !gu da adschǒéa X'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

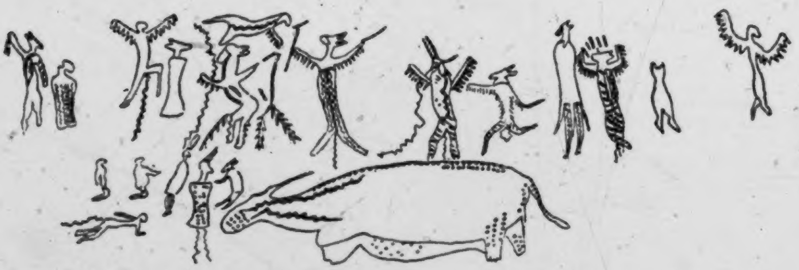

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 821 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 177 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

!KUNG

[54 cont.]

771 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782] 1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the [1]

114 171 176 2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104] [194] The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

1 [CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

171 776 114 if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the re- [174] ports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

!Kung

[55 cont.]

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●

time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. [177] The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, [824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

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[55 cont.]

114 171 776 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite him as an antagonist who does harm to human beings. Schapera believes that the original [775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 776 771 If I understand Schapera correctly, we agree that a benign high deity is indeed present among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage. [174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours. [773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rare-
ly than a clear answer to the question con-
cerning the originator of the actual processes,
that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and,
generally, good and bad fortune in human
life. This originator is conceived as either a
human-like being above the clouds or ancestral
spirits. The religious need or the need for
protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced
by magical practices, the smaller the signifi-
cance of the heavenly being conceived as a
general *causa officiens*. J. Schapera will
doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in
contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal
explanation and the religious need for protec-
tion are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab,
and others, and that among the Bushmen this
heavenly being therefore plays the role that we
impute to a "good supreme being." By way of
a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it
should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like
all primitives, systematize their religious con-
ceptions only to the extent that this is neces-
sary for the satisfaction of their religious and
causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus en-
counter varying degrees of consistency in the
world picture from group to group, even from
individual to individual, and no investigator
will be able to discover a thoroughly organized
system of Bushman religion since such does
not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
●776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn
the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung
Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of
Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown,
lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being.

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]
695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and
all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything
taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The
chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good
graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection
against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[762] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the
start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ 'u, χ 'u hűi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mī	"the lord shall lead me well
/nāna /ge a	to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa	where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ā̃ mi tsu (1)	lead me back well, so that I
	come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for
hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of
this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time
benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the
highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the
common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors,
and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned
his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me
an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs
of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an
abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign
element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ 'u or Huwe faith.
As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the
invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 [171] Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall [773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa [821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain [821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the [775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 [774] The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

!KUNG

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [775]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

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1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

!KUNG

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd.

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] *Specimens of Bushmen Folklore*, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain χ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 [534] The !Kung who were W. H. J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, *ibid.*, p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 769 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /χ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kô̄a (to live in health).

774 825 775 171 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards, and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

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1. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, *ibid.*, p. 430.

[63 cont.]
764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not, in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

MASARWA
OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 551 602 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

105 101 Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

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[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances
[776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man.
(787) Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be-
535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body,
881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female,
787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger
535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he
881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation,
881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay
[343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (*/num*). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called */gam* or *kha//ä*, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called *!nui* or */nauga*, "the one who runs around."

773
821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776
821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called *Gowa*. They do

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have
black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large
[789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon
[535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs,
[534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc.
The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They
794 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe-
787 cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call
821 "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of
773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon
821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return
again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should
remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth
with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
& 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114
●776 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete concerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[87] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[74 cont.]
776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow
poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches
warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and
nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana
have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake.
Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and
speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example,
it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive
their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the
one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the
doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the
bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone
whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

N/OW

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821 'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821 namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825 brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821 informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776] the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821 could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843 they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827 harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776] *n/ow* and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung 142 say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if 827

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[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia!kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, [171] in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*.

776 communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *‡Ao-//ēin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gũua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are
775 said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gũua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsũ*) is
[764] accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced
771 by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

787 Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed
776 in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gũua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gũua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gũua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gũua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gũua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

000 In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great
beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers
of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions,
in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider
the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings,
and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European
or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that
goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off
all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which
is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful
for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made
of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told
all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came
away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber.
After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all
those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are
in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said,
"I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim
half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. [524] Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to 539 smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

756 have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might
825 have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band
had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band
has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are
[illegible] very important animals, obvious from the black medicine
markings on a gemsbok's face.

756 The medicine songs are songs without words and are given
[539] to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who
● [776] sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping
775] person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine
song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches
the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

756 Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually
535 takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning.
Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough
to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the
women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined.
People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off
to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

Kung

besides his usual, everyday name, Gao Na—which means 823
Big Gao, Gao being simply a man's name—he has many 776
other hidden, secret names that may never, never be spoken during the light of day but only at night and only then at dances. Some of these names are Haishi, Gao ha, Nao, and Gara, and if he hears one of these names being called he will come to see who called it. He does not like to be disturbed during the day, he does not like the hot sun, and if a person bothers him during the day he will make that person sick. He is called at dances and cursed for the things he does to people, and some medicine men have even seen him when they were in trace; he appeared once as a yellow mouse, once as a gray man the size of a mouse, and once as a cloud of mist, although these are not his usual forms; usually he is the size and shape of a man, but, the Bushmen say, because he is wild he is always seen far away.

We knew of his wife, whose name is Khoana, a Kung Bushman woman's name, but who is also called the "Mother of Bees," and we knew of the being who lives in the west, whose name is also Gao Na and who is both the namesake and the servant of the great god, bringing good and evil to people as the great god chooses. This god of the west can also do things to people on his own initiative, and people sometimes say that evil comes when the two gods disagree.

There is one more figure, another being who has no place, such as the east or west; another god whose relation to the gods of the east and west has not been formed. His name is Gaua; he is called by the same name as the gaua si, the spirits of the dead, and though to the Kung today his identity has become vague, we felt that he well might be an older, primal figure, a god whose being has been now infused with the gods of the east and west. Today the great god of the east is sometimes called Gaua, called by the old god's name, and

823 776 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catastrophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

821 776 823 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing), the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints, but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

825 776 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu people live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

Kung

The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these 776
people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

13: Marshall
776●

FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

[For the text of tales about ≠Gao!na, the Great God, see category 539.]

disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk 787 being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon.

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, ' Idiot, don't you see it means this? ' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods 776 ●

The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are [775] attended by the spirits of the dead.

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, ' He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' ' I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai* ', said the great god. ' I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently [761] a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation.

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gao!na*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's [551 name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names ' divine ' because 177] they belong only to the gods. They are:

Hishe
Huwe
Kxo
/Gara
Gani ga
≠Gaishi ≠gai
//Gauwa

776 171 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Huwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that ' he [*Huwe*] was the " captain " of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the " captain " of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *//Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Huwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for ' master ', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for ' God '.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *//Gauwa* and *≠Gao!na* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325-7.

[104 114] [4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gao!na* or *//Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] ' Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a " supreme good being " (" ein höchstes gutes Wesen "). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*) or *Xuwa*, " the Lord " or " the great captain ", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwe* or *Hu'e*.' (ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *//Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182-3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these 776 names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that *≠Gao!na* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest.

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names 553 but not his human name, *≠Gao!na*. 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gu!na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gu!na* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] *!Gu!na* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gu!na* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!gu!na* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gu!na–!guma* relation- 776 ship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, [177 and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem 773] of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god.

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that *≠Gao!na* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi, Huwedi, Kxodi, /Garadi, Gani gadi, ≠Gaishi ≠gaidi, //Gauwadi*.

≠Gao!na, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names [553] never being given to women. One would say instead *≠Gao!na a tsau*, '*≠Gao!na* his wife'.

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with *≠Gao!na*, is named *Khwova!na*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *//Gow*. (*//Gow* [104] rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) [553] We knew only two women named //Gow but knew many Khwovas.

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

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[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

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776 [576] only for females, ***kolidi***, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women 'who possess lots of things', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called 'the mother of the bees'. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

'The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kung go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao!na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes 'followed by children like baboons'.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. 'The girls are fresh and beautiful', they say, 'not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gow*).

[775] The children are called little *//gauwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//gauwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their 'father in the sky'. We were told that the little *//gauwasi* are helpful to humans. 'They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao!na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 576 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nau*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, 'owner'. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it 'sounded like a curse' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao!na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and 'he has a good feeling about them'.

//Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.

[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–53.

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also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as *!nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god *!nau* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. [578] *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gauwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 776
'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as 784
one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. [124] Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. [753] The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwedi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Huwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Huwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

TWO IMAGES OF ≠*GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those older days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

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another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old 539
≠Gao/na was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men.
Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, [266]
and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than
their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the [152
/Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and 183
incest. *≠Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older 266]
brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠Gao/na's wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day *≠Gao/na* 539 met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. *≠Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. *≠Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. *≠Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, *≠Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. *≠Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed *≠Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠Gao/na took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. *≠Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. *≠Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. *≠Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. *≠Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and *≠Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and *≠Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. *≠Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that *≠Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. *≠Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' *≠Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

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[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao!na* 539 was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao!na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao!na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao!na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.'

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao!na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao!na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsĩ* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao!na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao!na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao!na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao!na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao!na*. ≠*Gao!na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao!na, *the Creator*

776 In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao!na*, the creator and controller of all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao!na* of the tales and ≠*Gao!na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained.

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg- [177 dama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the 178] present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao!na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form.

●776 The concept of ≠*Gao!na* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Huwe* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

[761 811] This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The old //*Gauwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gao!na*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 773 [154] It is said that ≠*Gao!na* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gao!na* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gao!na* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a /*ka* (/*ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gao!na* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, /*ga*. He made gentle female rain, /*gadi*, and violent male rain, /*ga!go*. The people do not say freely the word /*ga!go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, /*noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gao!na* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

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and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//gauwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also
renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [811]
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung
said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like
water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we
cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-
sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make
and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he [811]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their
sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine
which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medi-
cines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man,
owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which
people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have
children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the
/Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over
all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others
claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gauwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people
and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisiboro*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

776 throes, his thrashing and writhing limbs gouged out the omurambas,[1] the putrefaction of his body became the rivers, and his black hair became the rain clouds. But the /Kung, it seems, always thought of their protagonist as man-like in size and appearance. The old ≠*Gao!na* was man-like. ≠*Gao!na*, the great god of the east, is also man-like. He has the power to change himself into the forms of animals or objects and sometimes does so, but in his own form he is a man. The people say he is 'the tallest of the Bushmen'. His bearing, as the people at present imagine him, suggests [115] to me the Tswana or white men, or the tall aggressive Herero. Gao Medicine, Gao Beard, Old Demi, ≠Toma, /Qui, and /Ti/kay told us from time to time how they imagine ≠*Gao!na* to be. He has a big head. He has black hair, but it is long, not twisted and knotted like the Bushman peppercorn, and he has a long beard and hair on his chest (not at all like Bushmen, whose beards and body hair are sparse). Gao Medicine thinks that ≠*Gao!na*'s skin is reddish in colour, */ga*, like Europeans, but others claimed that it is the colour of Bushman skin in its light tones, *gan*. ≠*Gao!na* wears European clothes and a hat. His pants and shirt are white. 'He is the great god and has power over all these things, so he possesses them.' He has a horse and rides everywhere across the earth and sky. You can sometimes hear the sound of his horse's hooves passing overhead. Especially when it rains he goes about a great deal and you can see the tracks of his horse. They are like those of the Hereros' horses, not exceptional in size or form. He has a gun and when he starts out, for instance to visit his *!gama* in the west, he shoots it off to let the people know he is passing through, and shoots again when he returns. The shots can be heard by everybody. The bullet which he shoots is named *!guri*.

≠*Gao!na* hunts for his own food with his gun or with his bow and arrows, as he pleases. Some informants think that he hunts animals on earth and that he eats earthly veldkos, but has his own supplies of these foods. Others were vague about what kind of food he eats. They know that he and the lesser god and the *//gauwasi* are all very fond of earthly honey and take it whenever they find it. The people all believe that the gods never lack food.

If ≠*Gao!na* hears his name spoken in the daytime and is displeased, he comes down on his horse at sunset and beats stiff dry hides with a stick or snaps an eland-hide reim[2] to make a noise like thunder to frighten all the people.

The majority of our informants held the above beliefs about ≠*Gao!na*, telling us these details from time to time as we sat in groups. Some informants, however, held a different opinion. Several who were working with Robert Dyson in 1951 claimed that ≠*Gao!na* never came to earth. Their old people had told them this, they said. All concurred in the belief that he does not come to the medicine dances.

≠*Gao!na* lives in a house at the place where the sun rises in the eastern sky. Near the house is a great tree—one tree. The /Kung fear the tree and the house, they say. The lesser god in the west lives beside two trees, and these two trees have names. I was repeatedly told that the one tree of the great god in the east had no name. Perhaps, however, it has and the name is one which is really taboo. The tree is associated with the spirits of the dead, as I shall mention later. ≠*Gao!na*'s house has two stories. It is long, made of stone, with a shining roof of corrugated iron. There

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[1] Ancient watercourses, now usually dry.

[2] A pliable strip or thong used for twisting into ropes.

are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that 776
all the *//gauwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that *≠Gao!na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen *≠Gao!na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When *≠Gao!na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else.

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and *≠Gao!na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize [177]
him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things.

Only exceptionally great medicine men see *≠Gao!na*. If I understood correctly, 776
this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. 756
≠Gao!na is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that *≠Gao!na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen *≠Gao!na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees *≠Gao!na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen *≠Gao!na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at *≠Gao!na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as *≠Gao!na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage.

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Huwe* or *Xu*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xu*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (Ibid., p. 184).

776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or
the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before
others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine
man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao.
He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and
walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and
goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the
other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will
be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song
which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the
song over and over until she had learned it.

//GAUWA, THE LESSER GOD

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*.
Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the */gu!na–/guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui* *//Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui* *//Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui* *//Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui* *//Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

//Gauwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761]
man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gao!na*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gao!na*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *//Gauwa* went to *≠Gao!na* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gao!na* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *//Gauwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gao!na* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *//Gauwa*, as well as *≠Gao!na*, gives medicine [756]
to the medicine men.

//Gauwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *//Gauwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *//Gauwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *//gauwa ≠a*, which means *//Gauwa* smell. 821
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *maa*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *//Gauwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775]
see or hear *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 188-9.

[2] Ibid., p. 389.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

● 776 ### //GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

//Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *//Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui //Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *//Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */ga*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *//Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness
[753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *//Gauwa* does not like a
756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *//Gauab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *//Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaie*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaie* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *//Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power
756 which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *//Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *//Gauwa* was so
[787] often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *//Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *//Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *//Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dsao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the
[158] medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *//Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *//Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *//Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

[2] Ibid.

Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had 776 seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like 756 a bantam cock. He had seen *//Gauwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Gauwa* looked like. *//Gauwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Gauwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Gauwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Gauwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Gauwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Gauwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Gauwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Gauwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Gauwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Gauwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao!na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Gauwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Gauwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even [115 in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contradicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others 156] and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Gauwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

THE *//GAUWASI*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of 775 the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao!na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao!na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their [769] own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775 turns these elements into a *//gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776 grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//gauwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *//gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */theo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *//gauwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775 hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s [756] hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//gauwasi*.

The *//gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *//Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825] themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *//gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761] a *//gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//gauwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762] and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//gauwasi* haunting graves came

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//gauwa*.

[787] *//Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gao!na* primarily, but are servants of *//Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//gauwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning
[821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being
[782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

MAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE GODS

772 *≠Gao!na* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gao!na*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the 772 omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged 776 by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded [775] by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent.

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is [753] how people may be very ill and still be cured.

Punishment

776

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's [783] wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social 626] context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved.

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has [753] burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies.

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him [753] a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, ' I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gaolna* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. ' He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. ' That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gaolna*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men
[756 to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, how-
ever, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gaolna*,
793] to //*Gauwa* or to the //*gauwasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwova/na*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, ' We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation— ' Why do you do thus and so? '—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say ' father ' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

' /*Naw*, excuse this man and make him well.'

' Sympathize with me, /*Naw*, because you are our *Gauxa*. Feel pity for me.'

' ≠*Gaolna*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go? '

' /*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him? '

' You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals ?'

' ≠*Gaolna*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

' Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us? '

' Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain? '

' Father (*mba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

' *Gani ga*, give us coolness.'

' Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

' Why does ≠*Gaolna* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

782

Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?'

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

> '*Hishe*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

> 'It is */Naw* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao!na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gauwa* as well as to *≠Gao!na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gauwa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gauwa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gauwa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gauwa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, unremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao!na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154-776]

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines 121 have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain 423 them if they leave. [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old 773 tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named *≠Gao!na*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old *≠Gao!na*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives [772] in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals [775] die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the *//gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the *//gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself 776 seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Huwe, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga, ≠Gaishi ≠gai* and *//Gauwa.* The human name is *≠Gao!na*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

● 776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe, Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, [28] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [181] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 778 755 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/num. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances,
songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider
—all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find
a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards
or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry.
The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for
many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm.
Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become
like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances
combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gãüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

BOYS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.

[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.

[3] [114] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881
and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians
with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535
period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), 881
which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called 535
Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776
by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881
that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776
figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881
respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though
our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869]
way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881
description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

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[1] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to 304
keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is 881
applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is [184]
rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western
tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make [224]
them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After
this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They 882
are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the
councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western 84
tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for 881
boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the *|nu||en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information 794
obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto- 535
land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with 776 ●
religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description [881]
of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

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[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

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[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.

[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 407, 409.

[4] Op. cit., 144.

775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however,
that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air
and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children,
to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms
of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more
761 precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen
distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who
die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after
death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the
Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-
disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named *!khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] *!khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often
[761] suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move
about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly
sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy,
so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water
is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not
interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the
deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost
returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described
does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gãũa* or *//gãuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gãuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women,
however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the
eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gãuwa*, and only such
men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They
evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much
the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

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[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192]
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gãũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co- [789]
workers could conjure up *//gãũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the
spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold
water and eats it.

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[1] *The Naron*, 26.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.

[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived 773
histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman 821
mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to 821
enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship 771
directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies
associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is
evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, 776 782
but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating
to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again 821
meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the [184]
Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who
is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the
Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the
horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their
houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen.
The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two
of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their
hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we [789]
may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern
ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the
sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in [177]
the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to
pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern
Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long
ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as
well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last 821
century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded [782]
in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter
there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or [178]
moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, 773
who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the 821
shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

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[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821 of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782] [177] have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most [114] reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821 of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771 the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782 in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of [776] as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773 a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776 tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184] Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825] They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, *!gaunu-ts'axau* (*!gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself.
She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children,
/kwammanga-⊙pwa, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet
like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important
part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his
grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All
these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the
Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet
often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes
mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and
unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech,
which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams
come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades
will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other
animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again.
He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen
were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human
beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives
the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special
protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he
is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to
the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of
observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used
by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of
a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was
shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-
magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they
can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 5–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among 821 825 the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, [532] such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They [782] must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many [773] legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated [532] in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, 821 since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as 773 well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same 825 time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization 782 821 of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man [776] or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 308.

782 O gallopers,
821 O gallopers,
[539] Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with
821 them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so
when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other
magicians have a similar power over the wind, *!khwe*, and are protected
by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it
tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly
they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears
the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed
that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked
for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song
of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it,
and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance
of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from
the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm
medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

medicine,[1] in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cãi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaẓ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaẓ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaẓ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and *!gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaẓ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

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N [1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.'—Analyst]

Ko('ngo), as
776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the
Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers
are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is
also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians,
who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological
character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative
powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his
special protection.

184 Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
776 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified
with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a
variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and
the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have
much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention
of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
Hishe or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game
and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people,
bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage
and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the
magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

177 From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
776 idea of *!khuba* or *!xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

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[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill.
Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves
by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648]
remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567]
attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They
also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177]
"captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184]
Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once
mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773]
with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people
attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [792]
him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held
once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [796]
and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [155]
health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

[3] "Grammatik der !Kū-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: [114]
!Kun is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with *!gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*,
and so on.

776 " the Lord " or " ~~the~~ great captain ", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This " supreme being " is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is " hairy like a caterpillar ". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies
[825] are found here in superabundance, and the " great captain " feeds
[775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and
[756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his
[782] " Bushman children ", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of
[184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as " God ", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is
[782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case
[224] of illness, " because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything ", and he is given the first offerings of the
[821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the " supreme being " among the Heikum of
184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he
776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak
[782] of the " supreme being " as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

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[1] " Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun-Buschmänner*," 407-9; *idem*, " Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] " Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including 184
mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, 776
before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at [821]
Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among [782]
the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has [224]
neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that
mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent
and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of
the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke
again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears
at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes
as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman.
In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for
//nwa-se, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of
worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to [787]
people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the
"supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention
at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari.
They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously
call *Dʒimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dʒimo* is a corruption of the Chwana [177]
word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says
Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification."
Thora and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe*
is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives
plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger [782]
threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once
heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over
again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More
often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things,
but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According 114
to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all 776
things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in 224
hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; [821]
when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing
it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

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[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead
person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
192 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
776 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother,
114 while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no
ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 586, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About 114
the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are 192
their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But 776
he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen [773]
is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side"
into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and [881]
Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies
he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them,
whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe 184
in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only 192
evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. 776
The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. [751]
When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone
is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in [821]
the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's [761]
informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the [775]
sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem [821]
to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at
a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said [881]
to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said [304]
that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who
comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground,
and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. [782]
This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi*
(the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God");
"we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by 114
Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the 184
Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain"
Xu is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all 776
dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he [192]
himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both [821]
helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the
magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They [756]
are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims [787]
to recognize five kinds.

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by
ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by
the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we
[184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa*
is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung."
/nawa or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for
[782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives
[224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most
[753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been
baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung;
others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence
and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere
and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service
of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-
776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the
souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group
comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home
is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to
mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits
dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the
[753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies,
who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people
and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove
[756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate
184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*,
776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play
practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead,"
says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*,
[192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence
[177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this
being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal
//gauab of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama
and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind
and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

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[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and 184
the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his 776
hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the [821]
latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern
Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of [761]
someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of
blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the
"benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East [192]
Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks
of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including
mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a [782]
journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls [775]
of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the
magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. [756]
There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; [753]
while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none [372]
of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was
doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are,
according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" [192]
variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, [753]
the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out [777]
to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat
his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the [782]
lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will 184
mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." 776
They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the 821
lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they 825
can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan,
"I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad,
and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is
struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the
lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the
Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism 771
in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, 776
Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the 184
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[1] Op. cit., 410.

[2] Op. cit., 410–11.

[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776. The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

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[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut *-l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly
known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious
system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes
is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the [184]
Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various
current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or
"Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama
for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from
this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign 771
influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring
peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for
discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the
information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly
sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning
attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they
really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of
service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts
given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main
conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known
variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, [184]
or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*.
By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with [114]
the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or
Erob is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being"
dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the
dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evildoers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782]
[756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many
children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which
are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these
ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association
with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector
of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that
this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe*
is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the
prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are
directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
[782] relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
[775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis,
just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern
Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and
Huwe is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at 184
the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially 776
concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are [761]
addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also
connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" [224]
(probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological [782]
character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association [755]
with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute
identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects,
however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant
our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua, //gauab, /gamab,* 184
etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the 775
first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist
assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the
Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western
tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people
are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among [753]
the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness,
some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls
of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about
on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the
Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to
earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead
people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of [753]
injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same [761]
idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern [769]
Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent
the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified 184
being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear 776
on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe [192]
thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning
they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death [821]
in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon [775]
as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also
the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, [821]
while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills
people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* [753]
(*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

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776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan *|gamab* makes thunder and
[821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting
stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *||gaua*,
[825] while sometimes *||gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
[777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of
[753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-storm
[821] and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further
the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and
[825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get
[753] the general impression of *||gaua* as the source of illness and death,
acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting
stars.

184 In all this *||gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the
776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the
821 latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths
as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal,
and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When
the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirl-wind
and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind
forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
[761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
[775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars;
shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
[825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*,
known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird",
here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be
added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are
said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed
by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for
some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *||gaua* shares
certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly
776 among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does
not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of
the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
[782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
[755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
[775] same time the "demiurge" *|gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
[821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, *|gamab*

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[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 104.

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success;
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [782]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [753]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or [178]
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation 114
may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled 881
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's [184]
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [224]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [753]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [821]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, [775]
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

MAGIC AND MAGICIANS

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
[782] to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
● [776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony
of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

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[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuŋ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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771 who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise
171 believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special
775 significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot
influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain
761 phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars,
821 the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god (" Himmelsgott ").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps
B not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become
H specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

771 The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is
171 that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term
//Gaua has several different references, which, however, are not
775 consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the
B fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living
H society.

771 *//Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*,
171 the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and
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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-
821 Religion," 295.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

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[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.